

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00033 060359Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 /057 W

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7025

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0033

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CH, UR

SUBJ: PUBLICATION OF MAO'S "ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS"

REF: HONG KONG IR NO 6 842 0923 76

1. PEKING-BASED DIPLOMATS (POLES IN PARTICULAR) ARE BUSY ANALYZING AND SPECULATING ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NEWLY-PUBLISHED, OFFICIAL VERSION OF MAO'S 1956 SPEECH "ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS" AND THE VERSION PRINTED IN RED GUARD DOCUMENTS IN THE LATE 1960'S (REFTEL). MINOR DIFFERENCES ARE NUMEROUS, BUT THE MOST STRIKING IS THE FREQUENCY OF DEROGATORY REFERENCES TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEW EDITION. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT MENTIONED ONCE IN THE RED GUARD VERSION.

2. AS NOW EDITED THE SPEECH REFERS TO SOVIET "DEFECTS AND ERRORS" IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, TO SOVIET FAILURES IN GRAIN PRODUCTION, TO THEIR OPPRESSION OF THE PEASANTS, AND TO THEIR OVER-CENTRALIZATION OF THE

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ECONOMY. STALIN IS CRITICIZED BY NAME FOR HAVING WRONGLY ORDERED EXECUTION AND FOR DOGMATISM, ALTHOUGH IN A LONG PARAGRAPH DEVOTED TO AN APPRAISAL OF THE SOVIET DICTATOR (LIKEWISE MISSING FROM THE RED GUARD VERSION), MAO CONCLUDES THAT STALIN'S ACTS WERE 70 PERCENT CORRECT AND ONLY 30 PERCENT WRONG.

3. EQUALLY STRIKING ARE MAO'S WORDS OF PRAISE FOR CERTAIN ASPECTS OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY, LIKEWISE MISSING FROM THE EARLIER VERSION. THUS HE NOTES THAT SOME CAPITALIST COUNTRIES HAVE DEVELOPED VALUABLE EXPERIENCE WORTH STUDYING IN THE FIELD OF CENTRAL-LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS, AND THAT THE "INDUSTRIALLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES RUN THEIR ENTERPRISES WITH FEWER PEOPLE AND GREATER EFFICIENCY."

4. COMMENT: THAT ONE CAN DISCOVER SUCH EVIDENCE OF A FIRM EDITORIAL HAND IS NOT SURPRISING; SLANTING THE TEXT TO EMPHASIZE AN ANTI-SOVIET THEME AND (RE)INSERTION OF LAUDATORY WORDS ABOUT THE WESTERN ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE ACCORD WITH CURRENT PRC POLICY. BUT WE ARE CONCERNED THAT METICULOUS COMPARISON OF THE TWO TEXTS MIGHT LEAD ANALYSTS TO MISS THE FOREST FOR THE TREES. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED SLANT IS A NATURAL AND MINOR BYPRODUCT OF THE INEVITABLE EDITING PROCESS, NOT THE OBJECTIVE. WE SUSPECT THAT THE PRIMARY GOAL INVOLVES REGIME LEGITIMACY: TO MAINTAIN CHAIRMAN MAO'S IMAGE BY PUBLICATION OF A SPEECH SHOWING HIM TO HAVE BEEN A PRAGMATIC AND FAR-SIGHTED LEADER. AND SINCE "ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS" CAN BE CITED TO SANCTIFY A WIDE RANGE OF POLICY OPTIONS--DISCUSSION OF KILLING ENEMIES IN THE SECTION ON COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES IS INSTRUCTIVE--THE NEW LEADERSHIP WILL BE ABLE TO CLOAK ITSELF IN MAO'S MANTLE WHILE ACTING AS IT WISHES. CONFIDENTIAL

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## Message Attributes

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